2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

RELIGION

Pre-Christian Beliefs[1]

The pre-Christian beliefs of the Yakut were closely associated with their mode of life, which was conditioned by the nature of their habitat. The greater part of the Yakut tribe occupied the Amga-Lena elevated plateau. Their occupations and religion were adapted to their environment. The surface of the plateau represents a complicated system of rivulets and brooks separated from each other by vast forested hills and surrounded by mountain ridges. The Yakut distinguish two kinds of land formation: the *urāx* (rivulet), grass covered lowland, and *alas*, somewhat higher plains surrounded by forests interspersed with lakes. 771

The abundance of grass, animals, and birds in the woods and of fish in the numerous lakes, influenced Yakut economic activity. They were cattle-breeders, hunters, and fishermen. In the early historic period they had four or five times as many horses as horned cattle; at present the number of horned cattle is several times greater than that of horses. The Yakut concept of their spiritual world was based on their material surroundings. Natural phenomena, water and land, animals and plants, and the fate of men are directed by independent beings called "owners." The Yakut pantheon includes the following supernatural beings:— 776 ●

Ajy, creative beings
Icci, masters
Abasy, eaters, malevolent beings
Yōr, man's soul after death

Side by side with them we find the remnants of an earlier conception of the world as being composed of animate beings: *tañara*, sky; *āhā* (grandmother), river; and *uslo*, mountains. We also find *xaya iccita*, the mountain owner, and the germs of more involved ideas: *Ürüñ Ajy Toyon*, White Creator Lord; *Ulūtuyar Ulū Toyon*, Titular Horrible Lord. Not quite clear and somewhat doubtful appears *Arsan Duolai*, the terrible dweller of the underground world. However, only the *Ajy*, *Icci*, *Yōr*, and *Abasy* play a conspicuous rôle in Yakut life. [774]

Where do these beings dwell? The Yakut have a clear idea of the chief and cardinal points (*diāki* or *diākki*) and their intermediates and also of relative heights. The chief cardinal points are: *ilin*, east (literally, the front, front part); *arhā*, west (and at the same time, the back, the back part); *xotu*, north, for which is sometimes substituted the word, *xañas*, the left side; *sohurū*, south, which is occasionally replaced by the 823 776

[1]This section is based chiefly on V. M. Jonov's article in the *Publications du Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Petrograd.*

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

word *uñuo*, the right side. For the definition of relative height the Yakut use the words, *tahyz*, to ascend and *kĭr*, to descend. The Yakut descends into (*kirär*) and ascends from (*taxsar*) the earth hut; *kün kirär*, the sun comes down, and *kün taxsar*, the sun rises.

The dwelling places of supernatural beings are in the upper, middle, and lower worlds. In the upper world dwells the *Ürüñ Ajy Toyon* and also the terrible *Ulütuyar Ulü Toyon*. In the lower world lives *Arsan Duolai*. The *Abasy* live in the upper as well as in the lower world.

The *Icci* and the *Ajy* dwell in the middle world,[1] but somewhat lower, not reaching the lower world.

The *Yŏr* belong to the middle world, whether they dwell on the earth or in the clouds.

The *Ürüñ Ajy Toyon* (White Creator Lord) dwells, according to one informant, at the zenith and according to others in the northeast.

Ulutuyar Ulü Toyon lives in the west; *Arsan Duolai* sometimes in the southwest, sometimes in the northwest.

The *Ajy* and *Icci* dwell in the east. The *Abasy* live at all cardinal points, but chiefly in the west.

After settling in the different worlds and cardinal points, all these spirits began to follow their own modes of life and did not enter into relations with each other. Each of them appears as a complete master of his province, his "people," has his own household and often cattle. In the original Yakut mythology, which is uninfluenced by Christian legends, there is no trace of difficulties or struggles between the various classes of supernatural beings.

Very characteristic of the Yakut beliefs is the absence of conceptions of paradise and hell and the lack of any idea of retaliation as we understand it. The Yakut word *ajÿ* usually translated, sin, means more properly, harm, damage; for instance, *ajÿ* is used when milk is spoiled by a mouse falling into it, or, when a man's bed is contaminated by a frog.

When a man, willingly or unwillingly, had offended some spirit, violated his rights, or did not fulfill his obligations, he was liable to be punished in some way: by illness, epizooty, or some other calamity. The Yakut is a hunter and fishermen. The *abasy-siäce* (i.e., *abasy*, the eater) also procures food for himself, and this food may be the man and his cattle. The *Ajy* and *Icci* may or may not give the man something. They are quite indifferent to him.

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[1] There are some exceptions, as, for instance, *dĭñ Icciti*, the spirit-owner of the thunder, who lives in the upper world.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

When a man is ill or unfortunate, it is necessary for him to seek someone who will find the cause and who will either cure him or release him from his misfortune. Such people are known under various names: *alhacci*, conjuror; *mānāric*, hysterical; *kōrbūōccū*, prophet; *icān*, sorcerer; *oyūn*, shaman; *udahan*, woman-shaman. 756

Their ideas as to the creation of the world have not been affected by contact with Christianity. In their religious constructions, the Yakut start from what exists and, in their own way, explain the changes in the order of things which existed from the beginning. The very conception of creation, expressed in the word *ai*, is very close to the notion of arrangement or transformation. *Ajȳsyt*, the goddess of lying-in, is called creative generator, but this means only that she brings the child's soul, is present, and assists while in child-bed. 772 177

Although parents are responsible for a child while it is growing, it may itself be punished for disrespect towards the spirits. When he has reached maturity, marries, and establishes his own household, he selects a place to build a house, but it has its owner-spirit from whom it is necessary to obtain permission to proceed. When the house, stall, and shelter for cattle are ready, each of these buildings, as well as the new fireplace, has its own "owners" with whom it is important to enter into good relations. To procure food and clothing for the family it is necessary to hunt in the woods and to fish in the lakes, but forests and waters have their own owners, without whose permission one cannot use the utilities they supervise. That the family may have adequate provision, the cattle must propagate, and for this, corresponding spirits must be propitiated. For the cattle, one needs to store hay, but grass grows in places belonging to particular owners. While traveling, a man passes the possessions of different owners, who must be conciliated with gifts or appropriate prayers. Thus, we see a well organized system in the relations of man to the circle of spirits. However, a closer investigation shows the system to consist of heterogeneous elements. To give some examples:— 776 783

A man-shaman is called *oyūn* and a woman-shaman, *udahan*. Both play an important rôle in Yakut beliefs. While *oyūn* is a Turkic word, *udahan* is adopted from the Mongolian language. Why? Why also is a woman-shaman regarded as more powerful than a man shaman? Why may *oyūn* enter into the formation of compound words (for instance, *mas oyūn*, a wooden shaman, is called the humming top) while *udahan* may not be so used? Why may *oyūn* and not *udahan* be part of words designating inanimate objects? 756 177

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

776 782 174 We have previously seen how carefully the Yakut allotted their spirits to different worlds and cardinal points. The *Abasy*, however, appear to dwell partly in the upper world and partly in the lower one. Further, to those *Abasy* (plur. *Abasylar*) who dwell only in the upper world horses are sacrificed, while to the *Abasy* of the lower world only horned cattle are offered. These spirits have their own households and cattle; but the upper *Abasy* have only horses while the lower ones have only horned cattle. While the *Ajÿsyt* (the goddess of birth) of horses appears to be a man-spirit, the *Ajÿsyt* of horned cattle is a woman spirit. This difference alone leads us to believe that we have here a compound of two conceptions of nature, the result of a consolidation of two different cultures. The man's *Ajÿsyt* is a woman to whom are addressed pleas for children, while prayers for the increase of horses and horned cattle are addressed to the earth's spirit owner. Why were only horses and not horned cattle consecrated to the supreme being, *Ürüñ Ajy Toyon*?

756 326 174 We have previously seen that *udahan* is a Mongol word and that *us* (smith) is Turkic. The Yakut, when comparing the power of black shamans and smiths, regard the latter as more powerful. They make no comparisons with reference to the *udahan's* power, but say that *udahans* are more powerful than men-shamans. The Yakut preserved the names of their former white shamans, but not those of white women-shamans. From this we might infer that white shamanism was not an aboriginal institution, and that black shamanism is a transformation of female shamans after their functions were transferred to men. No tales of white smiths (smiths working with copper and silver) are extant, but accounts of black smiths (iron smiths) relate that they are more powerful than black shamans. This leads us to the belief that the concept of black smiths and women-shamans appeared as ready-made institutions among the Yakut.

776 764 We will cite another example. We have previously mentioned the upper and lower *Abasy* spirits, that the former possess horses (and also demand horses as sacrifices) and the latter, horned cattle. At burials the horse of the deceased was killed and buried with its master. Such horses had a special name, *xolynga*. At home a mare was killed in memory of the deceased. It was called *ülä asa*, the worker's food, and was for those who made all the preparations for the burial. Later, a cow was substituted for the mare. When the number of horses decreased, the dead horse was not buried, but eaten at home. Still later, the flesh of a cow was eaten instead of a horse.

From the above it is obvious that the pre-Christian beliefs of the Yakut require further investigation to disentangle the different layers.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

Shamanism

Shamans (*saxa ababyta*, Yakut priest, and *sdbdki* in the Viliuisk District) are divided into two classes, white or creative shamans (*Ajy aÿuna*) and black or malevolent beings' shamans (*Abasy oyuna*). The white shaman serves as an intermediary between benevolent creative beings and mankind, whom he does not and cannot harm. He has no special shamanistic dress and does not even possess a drum. He bestows only blessings and asks the White-Lord-Creator to make beneficent gifts. He seldom addresses any other sky-dweller but the White-Lord-Creator: for instance, to cure barrenness he appeals to *Mohan Sylgylax* or some other deity. He does not kill cattle as a sacrifice; he only dedicates them to some sky dweller, after which the animal is not required to perform any work and is cared for and well fed.

Fig. 2 (70–9070). The Back of a Shaman's Ceremonial Coat.

The black shaman serves as an intermediary between evil spirits and men. He cures sick people by extracting from them the evil spirits causing the illness. The power and ability of the black shaman varies. His spirit protectors may dwell in the upper, middle, or lower worlds. The most powerful shaman is one who has wolf and bear spirits as his protectors. The black shaman may also harm men against whom he is ill-disposed, casting diseases and miseries on them.

Some information on Yakut shamanism was given in my publications on the Koryak and Yukaghir.[1] Here I shall treat the subject in more detail and add new drawings and additional explanations to the illustrations in these previous publications.

The Shaman's Coat. I succeeded in securing for the Museum three costumes of Yakut shamans. Two were secured in the Yakut District of

[1] Jochelson, Waldemar, The Koryak (*Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 10, 1905–1908), 21, 30, 36, 46, 53, 56, 57, 59, 61, 91, 92, 101, 102, 113, 119, 120; Jochelson, Waldemar, The Yukaghir and Yukaghirized Tungus (*Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 13, 1910–1926), 135, 158, 159, 182, 183, 185, 186.

6: Sauer--115-116 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 771, 776, 821, 825

"The Socha regard themselves as in a perfect state of demonocracy. In general conversation, they call God, Tanghra; a church, Tanghra Dshi, God's house; and Sundays, Tanghra Kuin, God's day. I could not obtain any explanation of the attributes of Tanghra. Those of other gods they explain as follows:

Aar Toyon (the merciful chief): To him they attribute the creation, and suppose him to have a wife, whom they call Kubey Chatoon (shining in glory): they are both all-mighty. --Another god, named Wechsyt (the advocate), carries up their prayers, and executes the resolutions of the godhead: Wechsyt, they say, used frequently to appear among them, and still continues now and then to shew himself, assuming the form of a white stallion, or different birds, from the eagle to the cuckoo. --Shessugai Toyon (the protector): he intercedes for them, and procures all desirable things, as children, cattle, riches, as well as all good and com-[116]fortable things: his wife they call Aksyt (the giver). --These are their benevolent gods; and I may add to the number a being which they adore in the sun: to these they offer sacrifices only once a year."

6: Sauer--116[2] G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 756, 776, 822, 825

"Their malevolent spirits are very numerous; for they have no less than 27 tribes or companies of aërial spirits: their chief they call Ooloo Toyon: he has a wife and many children: Sugai Toyon (the god of thunder)is his minister of immediate vengeance (Sugai is hatchet): the rest they distinguish by the names of different colours. Cattle and horses are sacred to the different spirits whose colours they bear. They also reckon eight tribes of spirits inhabiting Mung Taar (everlasting misery). Their chief is called Asharay Bioho (the mighty): these have wives, and the cattle sacred to them are quite black: their departed shamans are supposed to unite to these. They are in great dread of another evil goddess, whom they call Enachsys (cowherdess): she damages the cows, inflicts disorders on them, destroys calves, &c. and is frequently honoured with offerings to be propitious to their stock."

6: Sauer--119-121 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut-1-2
116, 755, 782, 776

"When a sick Socha sends for a shaman to appease the wrath of the evil spirits that torment him, the sorcerer takes a switch, ties a few hairs from the mane of a horse to the end of it, walks and jumps about the sick person, waves his switch, and conjures the demons to appear and relate the cause of their tormenting him, and how they are to be appeased.

After some time has passed in this invocation, he starts, pretends to see the spirits, and, listening to their admonition for some [120] time, turns to the patient, and tells him whence the spirits came; that it was with a view of destroying him, but that they might be induced to accept as a sacrifice, instead of him, a fat mare or a cow, mentioning the particular colour. This is immediately procured; for whoever has one answering the description readily gives it.

The offering being procured, the shaman dresses himself in full form, walks with his switch to the possessed, embraces him, and commands the demons to leave him; then, rising in great agitation, he suddenly springs upon the offering, raving and shouting as much as he possibly can: the beast now starting, and being restless, is a proof of the pain that it endures from the demon.

The following morning the sacrifice is led to the place appointed, which is always on a rising ground at the entrance into a wood. Four poles are driven into the ground, on which they erect a stage covered with twigs, wheron the offering is slain and skinned.

The flesh is dressed and eaten on the spot; the bones collected, wrapped up in the twigs that were on the scaffold, put inside the skin of the animal, and stuck at the top of some tree on the spot: if the sacrifice was to the aërial spirits, the head is directed upwards; if to the spirits of the pit, the head is looking downwards. The sorcerer then, arrayed in his magic robes, takes his tambour, and begins his formal spells; beating his tambour, raving, jumping, and using an unintelligible jargon in the most extravagant manner; his long hair hanging over his face, he conjures the spirit of the sacrifice to its demons, and the demons to their proper place of retirement; seems, several times during his incantations, to faint, during which paroxysms he receives the inspired power of prognosticating the fate of the diseased, and the day either of his restoration to health, or of his death. If [121] he prove mistaken, it is not regarded as arising from want of skill, but the unacceptableness of the sacrifice, which is occasionally renewed till he dies or recovers.

If a shaman acquaints any family that some demon is intent on inflicting a punishment, offerings are made to avert the evil; not of live beasts, but the rich skins of animals, which are hung up in a conspicuous part of the hut, and buried with the owner when he dies."

6: Sauer--125 [3] G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 551, 556, 768, 776

"The rich are esteemed to be under the protection of the gods; but the poor are rejected as forsaken, and only protected by their relations, or obliged to hire themselves out to work. Every Yakut bears two names, and is never called by the right, except in cases of necessity; thus they think they evade the search of the evil spirits bent on tormenting them. They never mention the dead, except allegorically, and leave the hut to ruins wherin any one has expired, thinking it the habitation of demons."

7: Shklovsky -- 21-22 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 753, 776

"As already mentioned, they [RCH: i. e., the Kolymyans] speak Russian very imperfectly, their language being Yakutian and the Yakutian Pantheon has left a marked impression upon their religion. They firmly believe that there are four gods, one for each of the four corners of the sky; two saviours -- one in the East and one in the West -- St. Nicholas in the South, and the Mother of God in the North. Sometimes they confuse the latter with the only beneficent deity in the Yakutian [22] Pantheon, 'The Compassionate Mother of Creation.' Like the Yakuts, the Sredne Kolymyans believe that illness is caused by a devil entering the body, and the cure consists in a correct diagnosis -- that is, in finding out what devil is in the sick man; and that can only be done by a Shaman."

7: Shklovsky -- 22- 23 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116.776, 782. 826

"The influence of the Yakutian mythology can perhaps be seen at its strongest in the ideas concerning the brown bear, which animal is found in large numbers in the Kolymsk country, and is believed by the Yakuts to be an incarnation of their most terrible god, 'Ulu-Tayon.'

For example, a long caravan of pack-horses will suddenly stop on its way.

'What is the matter?' ask anxious voices.

'Ulu-Tayon,' answers the terrified guide.

And, indeed, the dreaded beast comes out of the forest and sits on its haunches, showing its teeth at them. He fears to attack so many people, but, on the other hand he does not seem inclined to go away.

All the men huddle together, and the best speaker among them advances a little, removing his cap and saying:

'Ulu-Tayon, we know that you alone are the owner of these parts and we have not come into your territory to insult you, but because our way lies through it. Forgive us, O Ulu-Tayon, for you know very well that none of our sons are bear hunters. Why then should you harm us?'

Meanwhile some of the Yakuts prostrate themselves and cry: 'Have mercy on us, Ulu-Tayon! Others with trembling hands prepare huge wood fires.[23] It frequently happens that the bear keeps them there for twenty-four hours, and all the time the Kolymyans supplicate the bear. They consider it a sin to pronounce his name, and they speak of him as 'Grandfather' or 'he'."

7: Shklovsky -- 50 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 538, 585, 776

"Although the Yakuts had been 'Christianised' a hundred years previously, paganism remained in full strength and to the numerous gods of their pantheon they added Christian saints. Probably there was no marriage ceremony in former times, for though Yakutian legends are extraordinarily rich in detail, the marriages of heroes are only very briefly described.

'The hero enters the hut, sees the beauty seated there, seizes her without delay, bends her like a twig, smells (kisses) her, they cohabited.' This constituted the ancient marriage rite, and the present one is not much in itself, the chief ceremonies being centered round the escorting of the bride to her new home."

7: Shklovsky -- 53 - 54 T-3 (1891-92)1916 Yakut
116, 585, 776, 782, 844

"As soon as the fire blazed on the hearth, they seated Kitchipyr [RCH: the bride of a wedding attended by the author] on the seat by the wall and hung a curtain of suède before her. On the threshold of the hut a young colt was killed, and the blood which spouted from the jugular vein was placed in a cauldron. The Shaman, taking some in a small bowl, poured it out on the ground at the door in order that the terrible god, Oulooss-Hannak-Tayon, his wife Han-Hatine, also the Lord of all Evil Spirits, Arsine-Dolai, who 'has a mouth at the back of his head and eyes in his temples ,' might not bring harm into the dwelling. Another small bowl of blood the Shaman poured into the fire, a similar libation to the 'Spirit of the Hut', the little old woman, Nyaha Haraksine, who 'lives under the pole which supports the roof of the hut' ; and also to the 'Patroness and Mother Saviour and Compassionate Lady Aisit-Hatine'. This kind goddess is the patroness of the Yakuts in general and of the women in particular. It is she who arranges the marriages, decides the fate of the pair, and helps [54] women in child-birth. According to the endless fairy -tale, 'Khan Jargistai,' which contains all Yakutian cosmogony, this goddess came to the first woman in her travail, remained with her three days, then left her, declaring that henceforth, so long as the Yakuts should exist, every woman three days after child-birth should rise, wash herself, and feed the cattle."

7: Shklovsky --54 [2] T-3 (1891-92)1916 Yakut
116. 171, 776

"It is significant of the individual character of Yakutian theology that no offerings are ever made to the 'God of Gods,' the Spirit of the Eight-sided Universe (An-ya-Daidyn). To this god is given the title of 'The Drowsy,' which fact heightens the resemblance that this savage conception bears to the passive Brahma."

7: Shklovsky --66 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
115, 776, 822

"All that evening we three 'icy-eyed Russians (for so the Yakuts called those of us who wore spectacles) amused ourselves by shouting and calling, thereby giving much hard work to the merry little spirit of the forest, Barilakh, (1) whose shoulders are cov-

1. The Yakuts say that the echo is the little sprite Barilakh mocking the people

ered with fur, and who is so small that she can hide behind the pile of fallen larch needles."

7: Shklovsky -- 181 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 776, 782, 823

"On the fourteenth day we passed over the Alazeisky Range--the frontier of the Kolymyan region. The ascent is gradual, and the mountains are not especially remarkable; they are more like rows of hills. Following the local custom we tied little pieces of rag on the pole at the crest of the mountain. White partridge feathers, different coloured ribbons, bunches of horsehair, all these were offerings to the Spirit of the Mountain. As the ascent of the range is easy, the Yakuts do not think it necessary to waste too many offerings, finding that the spirit is kind enough without them. It is different on the terrible Verkhoyansk Range, where merchants, as well as Yakuts, throw to the spirit money pieces of butter, fat, etc."

7: Shklovsky -- 227 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 773, 776, 823

"Apparently the Evil Spirit of Yakutian legend, when he quarrelled with the Great White Spirit, spat out more masses of earth on the right bank of the Lena than on the left. According to this legend the earth was originally covered with water, The Evil Spirit and the Great White Spirit disputed as to which was the more poweful.

'What can you do?' asked the Great White Spirit.

'I can dive into the water and bring up a piece of clay,' replied the Evil Spirit. And he did so, and brought up the clay in his mouth.

The White Spirit took it and of it made the earth, but it was quite flat. However, the Evil Spirit had not given up all the clay he had brought, but had kept some in his mouth. The White Spirit, noticing this, struck the Evil Spirit on the back of the neck, causing him to spit out the clay, and wherever it fell mountains appeared."

7: Shklovsky --246-248 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut-1-2
116, 756, 776, 779

"Up to the begining of the eighteenth century the Bouriats, like all the Turko-Mongolian race, had the Horro religion, known to us as 'Shamanism.' This religion is also professed by Ostiaks, Samoyedes Yuraks, Yakuts, Lamouts and Toungouse.

In the time of the dynasty of Di-tyn, Shamanisn [247] was introduced into China under the name of Tyau-Shen, but, though it had no success there, it is important to mention the fact, because in 1747 there were published in the Manchurian language the regulations of the rites and ceremonies of Shamanisn, the only printed catechism of the old Mongol religion. There is also in existence an English translation of this catechism. I shall try to give briefly the substance of this religion.

The world is ruled by a passionless god, 'The drowsy Spirit of the Eight-sided Universe'; he has neither shape nor form; he is neither life nor death. I could not get even from the most learned Shaman a more definite statement of this belief. Involuntarily the thought comes into one's mind that this is probably a vague, shadowy idea of Brahma, the dark mind of the savage being unable to form a clearer conception of an abstract idea. The world is ruled by the 'Bald Father' (in Bouriat terminology), who cannot be angered, and who cannot be entreated , as his decisions are unchangeable. Therfore, it is absolutely useless to offer prayers and sacrifices. This god is deeply interested in all that concerns man; he is stern, or, more accurately speaking, powerful, for the Mongolian mind cannot imagine attributes such as goodness and mercy, but only omnipotence and

impotence, The Yakut name 'Almighty' quite shows this idea.

Arsin Dolai (the chief of the seven Oulooss of the wicked spirits, Abaghi) sends all evils and illness upon mankind, and the essence of the Horro religion is how to discover the means of propitiating this terrible god who afflict men so grievously, not in [248] revenge for their misdoings, but in the plenitude of his power."

7: Shklovsky --248-249 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 756, 776

"In one of the stories of the Bouriats the Shamans say: 'We know what others do not, for all that is hidden we discover.' Although amongst the Shamans one occasionally finds a conscious deceiver, the majority of them firmly believe in their power and knowledge, and they will only take very small fees for their services. The spirits are not pleased with the power which the Shamans have over them and they try to revenge themselves in every possible way. [249] 'Our gods are always angry with us, and we suffer greatly because of this, but we cannot cease, we must Shaman,' so said one of them. Each Shaman has the power of taking the form of an animal, and so can go about the world. This beast-form is given to him by his spirit protector, who guides him in this form round the universe during the performance of the 'mystery'. I have already described this ceremony. Like a ray of light in the dark outlook of Shamanism upon hostile nature shines the only beneficent spirit, the woman goddess, who acts disinterestedly for the benefit of all mankind. The Yakuts give her the title 'Mother Protector and Teacher and kind sympathetic Mother Creator.'"

12: Galitzin -- 147 N-2 (no date) 1853 Yakut
776

"According to the belief of the Yacoutes, each forest is placed under the direct influence of a spirit."

14: Krauss--166-167 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 177, 182, 756, 771, 776

Besides the mentioned points, Shaman medicine, fortune-telling, and the like, have had a constant influence on everyday life, and certain compromises with Christianity could not fail to [167] develop. Christianity has more or less been adopted by the majority of the Yakuts; it has undergone some changes under the influence of the "ancient faith" followers. As the theoretical part of the former creed has no immediate point of friction with real life, it has survived in a much more considerable degree, in the form of various traditions.

Thus, the former deities have been changed into devils, or spirits of darkness, under the influence of shaman mystery ceremonies. This is the same sort of metamorphosis which our rusalki, lesije, or domovje, or among the Greeks: Pan, have undergone by lending their appearance to the devil of the Christian faith.

These remarks will be sufficient to clear up certain divergences between the shamans' activity and the well attested information on the original religious doctrines of the Yakuts.

14: Krauss--168 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 776, 782

I remember very well, that once one of the shamans (a Christian), whom I had managed to persuade to perform a mystery of the kind which is destined to ask the spirits for something, went into the tent, crossed himself three times devoutly before the saints' images, then turned around, sat down in front of the fireplace and started calling upon his spirits. I should, however, like to report on that mystery ceremony below.

I want to formulate it briefly: there is no hill or slope, no isolated tree, no lake, river, or brook on the roads north of Yakutsk which would not have their protecting spirits. The most prominent among them are simply called ebja-chotun (dear women mother).

Just as the autochthonous Yakuts, the Russian merchants of the area use to sacrifice to the spirit of a locality in order to dispose him favorably. Everybody gives what he can afford; some will tear a piece out of their garments, others will pull some hairs from the manes of their horses to fix them on a tree or sign-post, some give money, and he who possesses nothing, at least a stone, a horse skull, a horse hide, or his stick. Such offerings are called delburgja salaka.

14: Krauss--168 [2] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 224, 776, 782, 824

I remember to have seen a powerful single tree trunk, densely hanged with motley rags, when I was crossing the Verchojan ridge. My companion and guide in this travel, sergeant in the Yakut Cossack regiment, Mr. P. N. Kalinkin, told me laughingly that those Cossacks who were in charge of the mail convoy used to search the tree and usually found some money, and spent it in drinking. But the same Cossacks who abuse the money given to the spirits will sacrifice to the spirits who provide rich hunting, whenever they go hunting predacious animals or birds and want to equal the lucky Yakut. To be sure, they replace the magic formula which is prescribed for every sort of hunting by some mixture of meaningless syllables and sometimes by fragments of rarely used orthodox prayers.

A Yakut never chooses to sit down in the shadow of a single tree because he is convinced that there lives a ghost on the tree; he rather tries to pass the tree as quickly as possible.

14: Krauss--168 [3] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 771, 776, 782

I also remember a case where the Yakuts who accompanied me while I was traveling in the Verchojan district, with desperation because of the terrific weather first murmured prayers, calling upon Tangar (God) and Nicholas, God's favorite (Nikolaja Ugodnika), the still honored protector of wandering people, until they started exercising their Shaman magic.

When I asked the people about this rapid change, the sorcerers would calmly reply 'If God doesn't help, the spirits may still hear our prayer, and send aid'. This lack of distinction is, in my opinion, simply accounted for. The people have left one bank without having reached the other; they have not grasped the faith in God, but have given up the faith in the strength and might of their formerly worshiped ghosts to a great extent.

14: Krauss--170-171 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-1-4
116, 756, 776, 782, 753

The initiation of a shaman is performed publicly. An old shaman conducts the one to be initiated on a high hill or on an open field, dresses him in a kuma (i. e. a red cotton wrapper) gives him a scepter hanged with horse-hair, and places nine youths to his right, nine girls to his left. He himself stands behind the novice, to whisper the shaman magic formulas in his ear. The latter has to repeat them:

"I promise to be a protector of the unhappy, a father of the miserable, and a mother of the orphans. I shall honor the demons who live on the tops of the high mountains, and swear that I shall serve them with all my strength. I shall honor, bow to, and serve the highest and most powerful of them, the demon who commands all demons, the master of the three demon sibs who live on the tops of the mountains, him whom the shamans call Sostuganach Ulu-Toen (the frightful, terrible one); his elder son Ujgul-Toen (the insane one), his wife Ujgul-Chotun (the insane woman), his younger son Kjakja-Curan-Toen (the loudly speaking one), his wife Kjakja-Curan-Chotun, and their numerous family and servants, through whom they send the people diseases, accidents, breakings of legs, and the podagra. I vow to save those who have been affected by these diseases, by sacrificing a cream-colored mare.

"I shall profess and worship, bow to, and serve Ulu Toen's younger brother, the demon Chara-Surun-Toen (the black raven), his son Alban-Buran-Toen (the resourceful venturer), his daughter Kys-Salisaj (the virgin who walks), who prompts people to commit manslaughter, suicide, and calumny. I promise to help rid these people of

their passions by offering the said demons a black horse.

"I shall profess, worship, and bow to the demon Altan-Sobiraj-Toen (the brazen basin), his wife Altan-Sobiraj-Chotun (the one with the bigger brazen arrow), their daughters Timir-Kuturuk (iron tail) and Kejulgan-Darchan (the important, great, lopping woman), who send mankind chronical abscesses. I shall help free the sick by sacrificing some (Arago) liquor, and offering the demons a motley seamew, as a gift of honor.

"I shall profess and worship, and bow to the ancester of these demons who is known as Kjun-Zelerjuma-Sakryl-Chotun (the horrible foe of the sun) who has 52 tables full of holes, and 52 servants. She sends the people the passion of game and drinking, of robbery, plundering, abject deeds, and suicide. I shall try to heal those who are obsessed with these vices. I shall kill a red-spotted young mare who is an ambler, and twist heart and liver of the mare round my neck; I shall perform shaman magic to propitiate the goddess.

"I shall profess and honor the demon above the demons of the six sibs who live in the place where the sinners' souls are sent to; I will bow to the one who is known among the shamans as Talirdach-Tan-Taraly-Toen (he who drags into ruin), his daughters Sorocha-Chotun (the wind-driven female beauty, and San-Chotun, and his countless servants who send men and cattle epidemic diseases. To propitiate them I shall offer them a sorrell-spotted mare.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the demon Bor-Malachaj-Toen (deformed earth)

and his wife Bor-Malachaj-Chotun who send mankind various diseases and, especially, death. If in a family children should die, I will implore these demons for mercy, and [171] offer them a black cow with a half-white head.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the demon Archach-Toen (the sick one) and his wife Archach-Chotun, who send mankind consumption. I shall heal the affected by offering a blackish brown cow.

"I shall profess, and honor the demon Njas-Elju (cart-horse, death) and his wife Yeryk-Chotun (the sick one) who send the people falling sickness and Siberian pestilence. I shall try to heal those who have been affected by these diseases by offering an eel-pout and a trout.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the demon Kytaj-Baksy-Toen who gives the Yakuts resourceful smiths and powerful shamans. When Kytaj, angry with a smith, sends him a disease, I promise to kill a red cow in his honor, to spread the blood over all the forge tools, and to burn the heart and the liver to ashes in the chimney. If I should be affected by this disease, another shaman will sacrifice for me and propitiate the demon.

"I shall profess, honor, and bow to the daughter of the demon, Tamyk-Chotun (the haughty one). She sends mankind mental diseases of various kind. Those who have been affected by such diseases I shall heal by sacrificing nine ermines, nine snow-weasels, nine fitchews, and nine pigeons; I vow to catch them alive, to adorn them, and to release them entirely.

14: Krauss--170-171 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-4
116, 756, 776, 782, 753

"I shall profess and bow to, I shall honor the shaman woman Tajaktach-Njacaj (the feeble one with the reed), her husband Atyr-Chataj (the eagle) and his countless family and descendants, who send the people oppression of the chest. Those who have been affected by this disease I shall try to save by sacrificing a light-red cow with but one horn.

"I shall acknowledge, honor, and bow to the heavenly shaman Kybilyr Ojun (the white swan), his sister Kytalyktyr-Kyrbyky (the swan of the acute wings). and their mother Soruktach-Sodor (the charitable ruler), who send the people deafness and every kind of ear disease. Those who have been affected by it I shall try to save by offering a red cow with but one horn (agar mostach kugas).

14: Krauss--171 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 773, 776

The tradition about the first shaman goes back to dark times. His name was An-Argyl-Ojun. He was powerful and performed great miracles. He raised the dead, and gave the blind their eyesight back. This fame eventually also reached Aj-Toen (God, the Lord). He sent a messenger to the shaman to ask in the name of what god he did those miracles and whether he believed in him, Aj-Toen. An-Argyl-Ojun (the important shaman) replied three times he did not believe in God but performed miracles by his own strength and power.

Aj-Toen became angry at that and ordered the shaman to be burned. As, however, Ojun's body consisted of countless vermin, one little frog managed to be saved from the flames. The powerful demons who still give shamans to the Yakuts are descendants of this little frog.

Among the major demons, An-Argyl-Ojuna-Kjun-Kigis-Ojun is worshiped (the sun--the unsatiable glutton). An enormous iron stick rests in his hands, on which the head of the one to become a shaman is symbolically put. The head is so shown the entire world from above. The rest of the body is equally chopped into small pieces which are supposed to serve as food for the evil spirits. The latter thus become servants of the novice. The initiated are used to feel all the agonies of being beheaded and chopped in their paroxysms which are full of hallucinations.

14: Krauss--173-174 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-1-2
116, 756, 776, 782

After the shaman has appeased his hunger and thirst, he puts on his kuma (if he possesses one), approaches the fireplace at its front side, throws fat into the fire as a sacrifice for the spirits, grasps the fat smoke with open hands and brings them to his mouth to make believe that he is swallowing them and so gets control over the spirit whom he wants to address with his intercession. Then he takes the drum, sits down before the fireplace on a reindeer skin of good quality, and takes a whip which is adorned with fringes of horse hair and motley rags, or with tails of small game, colored with alder bark. The skin is turned towards the fireplace so that the head is next to it. The shaman now beats his drum and tries to divert the spirits' attention towards himself by sounding a long "ay"; he yawns by devilishly opening his mouth, sounds three times the cry of the ember-goose (cek, cek, cek), apes three times the cry of a stork, three times that of a cuckoo, and three times that of a raven.

Then he calls upon the squint-eyed (inistjagas), deformed (keltjagjaj), lame (dogolon) devil (jugjug emjagjat), and curses himself by assuring the Satan of his devotion, promises to be a faithful servant, and asks him to obsess him. Now he rises, supposing that he now has communication with the devil, that the latter has obsessed him, and that he himself now is in command of the devil's power and might. He calls upon the white bird (jurjun-as): "May this become my place; may green grass grow on here; I have given myself to your life and blood, oh Satan! You root of every evil and mishap (ytyk élju

térdè)," so he continues, "you monster of the eight feet, I have joined you, so [174] lend your aid in accomplishing the wishes. I have come from sjurdjach-kjaptjach, sjugja-toenton, the terrible god of the hatchet, and from kini-sjurgju-jutjanjan-sjurgjuja, in order to save him by means of the salutary tool. But you, she-shamans of the fiery lashes, who live in the nether world, do not come to the upper world to fight or curse me. I have sat down on the navel of the earth in order to give protection to the sick. I am well aware of my faults, but suppose I were without faults and give way. Your three black shadows, oh devil, have come upon me, so I beg you, help me. Look, I am offering you such an animal, so help my misery!"

14: Krauss--176-177 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 776, 782

The Yakut Gods have their domiciles either on the tops of the mountains and in the skies: these are the esja abasylar, the upper spirits, or beneath the surface of the earth in the nether world: the allara abasylar, the demons of the lower regions. The gods are partly good spirits who are known as aj and tangara (god), and partly demons. Among the former there are:

Jut-tas olbochtach Jurjun-aj-Toen; this is the true ajbyt aga (father of the creation), the white god on the milk-white, stone throne. He lives in the skies and rules over all the subaltern deities, and does the living creatures in the universe nothing but [177] good. As he is the creator of the world, he is approached on the occasion of the yech festival (religious spring ceremonies) by offering him a caron (a carved wooden mug), and implored for his blessing for all men and cattle. The caron is held towards the skies by the jurjun worshipers who are convinced that jurjun would sip from the kumys. Then the contents of the caron, now blessed by divine lips, is distributed among the Yakuts. The shaman asserts that Jut-tas olbochtach-aj-Toen is seen in the sky during the offering of the caron, giving his blessing to the Yakuts and their flocks from a milk-white throne. According to shamanism there is no god greater than Jurjun.

Ajsyt (the distributor of goods). This female deity has her abode in heaven; she does benefits by sending the people children and facilitates delivery to the women. She is favorable in general and especially towards women; she makes menstruation return after a childbirth. After lucky deliveries she is offered sacrifices. The ceremony will be referred to below. These good deities are not offered bloody sacrifices, only victuals (corn).

Good deities of the second class are: (orolžuttar)

1) An-dojdu-itcitja An-darchan-chotun (the female deity who protects the earth); she lives on big trees and gives the plants growth and fertility. According to the shamans she appears to people once in a while; and he who has had such a vision is happy for his lifetime and will suffer no more from any distress. According to the shamans, they accept various kinds of offerings.

2) Sjugja-Toen, chara-begi-toen (the deity of the cattle);he sends children and calves to the people. According to the shamans he sends beleljach-kulun and mjanjach-ogon, i. e. a foal with a spot on his forehead, and a boy with a birth-mark. Those spots and marks are considered as fortunate signs. Proportions and qualities of the actual sacrifice are ordered by the shaman.

3) Uordach-dzjusjugjach-Aj, i. e. the angry deity who punishes a man for his crimes and transgressions. He is offered a horse or a bull.

The teacher Pripuzov mentions that this god gives courageous men, fiery horses,

and powerful bulls.

4) The same author also mentions a god, Chotoj-Aj, who gives a mediocre breed only, but in larger quantity, and with a prevalence of female individuals.

5) Eechsit, a female deity who always accompanies a wanderer on his way and supports him in his good deeds. She enjoys particular love and esteem among the Yakuts. Sacrifices are willingly made for her. She is regarded as the Yakut guardian angel. According to the shamans, there is no protection for him who may have offended Eechsit and is abandoned by her. He is exposed to the evil spirits. If someone escapes a peril, he says that Eechsit has aided him. She is offered a young mare.

6) Baj-Bajanaj is the deity who protects game-hunting. He accompanies the hunter everywhere and helps him in his undertakings. When a Yakut goes to hunt in order to get skins, he carves an idol of wood, and tinges it with the blood of an animal he has killed in his honor. The shaman and the guests eat the meat of the killed animal, and the statue of Baj-Bajan is put in the front corner on the oron of honor. Oron is the table of honor in the left front corner. Sometimes Baj-Bajan stays in his corner for many years.

7) Ukulan, the deity of the fishermen. He lives in the water and affords successful fishing. He is offered two-years-old black calf.

The following gods and good demons may still be mentioned: Kis-tanara, the deity of the stables. He is represented in human appearance, dressed with a sable-fur. His

statue is kept in a bag of chamois leather which is adorned with motley pearls. On important occasions he is asked for help by throwing grease into the fire. [178]

The demon of the fire, An-drachan-toen, or Al-ot-iccitja enjoys equal honors. He is offered part of the meal which is being eaten. It is thrown into the fire.

An-darchan is fancied as an aged man. He is the mediator between mankind and the evil spirits. No sacrifice is made without a secondary sacrifice for him. He is the door through which one can reach another demon.

The god of the fire is characterized by benevolence. He helps in all circumstances, he displays a sensible and vivid interest in the actions of the people, which is repaid by giving him part of the meal which being eaten and throwing it into the fire. The demon is an honest old man. He is known as Byrjachja-bytika-kyryl-tjusjumjat, i. e. the appearance with the white beard.

As demons, or evil spirits, are considered:

1) Z-chosgon-ojun-kinjas, i. e. Satanas, the prince of the monsters. He sends the people evils, diseases, causes deaths of the cattle, and sterility. To appease him a light-brown foal is sacrificed (surzagyl).

2) Bologur-chotuna, Dochsun-Dujan, and Bachsy-toena-al-ljachaj are demons, the former of male, the latter of female sex. According to the shamans, both of them once were human beings, but were changed into demons on account of their sins. They

deprive men of their intelligence. They are offered a mare of spotted color (cugur).

3) Dzachtan-byradaj, or Jurjun-ogustach once was a shaman and possessed a white bull. The bull was stolen so the shaman became malicious. After his death he was punished by becoming a demon. He causes diseases, especially chest ailments in young children with fatal exit, unless he be offered a three years old calf.

4) Sordach-conach was a female shaman when she was alive. She causes several epidemics. According to the shamans her appearance is ugly, she has but one hand and foot, and one eye in the middle of the forehead. She is offered a red-stained cow (kéchebiren).

5) Makyny-kysa-tynyrachtach-kjadzjaj, a former shaman woman, causes madness and other diseases. She is offered a cow with water-bright horns and claws, a bald spot on the forehead, a motley tail, and generally red color... To honor her she is carved as an idol which is adorned with a giant fur. In this idol the fury is inevitably closed in, according to shaman notions. The idol is known as kys-tagara, virgin goddess. She is put in the angle of the central timber to the left of the fireplace, and remains untouched from generation to generation. It is venerated that much especially because the slightest touch may cause the ire of the Fury.

6) Buchar-dodar is the demon of death. Therefore he rides on the bull Bor-kurjun, i.e. the earth-pale panther. She lives in the nether world where like him, and with the exceptions of a few minor ones, there are eight demons of equal rank.

14: Krauss--177-178 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut-5
116, 776, 782, 753,

7) Syry-kysa is a woman shaman as to her origin. She seduces people to do wrong, to suffer evil. She is not offered anything. The shaman has no difficulty in exorcizing her.

8) Sjulljukjuter are the demons of the waters. They live the way mortal men do, and raise cattle. In the waters there is much moss. If the latter is brought on the dry ground, it changes to meney, though, after three days it will be moss again.

9) Sebeka is a little ugly girl with an enormous belly. She lives in a poor Kalmuk hut (choton) and brings mischief upon the cattle.

14: Krauss--178-179 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 776, 522

Aside from the just mentioned demons and Furies the Yakuts believe also in some less important entities, such as Torbos-abysyta (the demon of the calves), and Kjaljama (the demon of carnal desire). The latter is by no means represented as an agreeable fellow, and [179] he is even thought to be a stammerer. This conception has a certain originality. Whenever the shaman appears in performance of Kjaljama, he makes the Yakuts laugh. They have their fun with him, ask him where he was coming from. Then the shaman (in the name of the demon) replies, he was coming from very far indeed, as far as a crippled fir was tall, and that he had had to stay over night nine times on his journey. Then the demon asks if there were not perhaps some pretty girls in the neighborhood. If the answer is in the affirmative, he suddenly grows merry, and, to the Yakuts immense delight, he makes grimaces. The shaman, too, assumes the role of the Kjaljama for fun.

15: Popov -- 259 [3] E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 776

"Among the Yakuts blacksmiths of the ninth generation are famous, and they alone may forge the shaman's iron ornaments. Their tools acquire 'Spirit-masters', and young blacksmiths take great pains not to break their anvils, fearing the revenge of the spirits who punish such an act with death.

Each tool of the Buriat blacksmith has its own 'spirit-master'. (1) Among the Dolgans

1. Agapitov and Hangalov, p. 9.
   Sanjeev, G., Songs of the Alarsk Buriats. Zapiski of the Collegium of Orientalists III, Leningrad, 1929. The hymn to the protectors of blacksmiths, p. 544.
   Petri, B. E., Old Beliefs of the Buriats. Irkutsk, p. 48.

there are special blacksmiths possessing 'spirit-masters' who enable them to lick red hot iron with the tongue.

15: Popov -- 259-260 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-1-2
116, 326, 782, 776

"Blacksmiths pacify their spirits by offerings. A Yakut smith when making his clay forge throws into the fire a few bunches of white horse hair. He cannot abandon his profession or he will die, Blacksmiths must surround themselves for life with the noise of the hammers and the light of the sparks (2) in order to avoid being torn to pieces by

2. Sieroshevsky, The Yakuts, p. 632.

supernatural birds with crooked beaks and claws. (3) The author knew in the Viluysk

3. Birds with iron claws. The master of the sacred fire, mighty Nurgun, has a monstrous watchman. It is a thin black bird, with iron wings as long as two strips of birch bark, with feathers like iron swords, with a long iron beak seven fathoms long, an iron neck three fathoms long, an iron tail like a birch bark cylinder, with an iron head like an enormous tub, eyes the size of a cup, and hooked iron claws. Yastremsky, p. 26. (Tr.)

region [260] a Yakut Blacksmith , a very modest and unpretentious man, who later ceased to work in other smithies and worked only at his home. He explained this by the fact that when he arrived home at night the spirits did not give him any rest and even made him sick, demanding presents such as butter and meat, which the blacksmith had to

15: Popov -- 259-260 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-2
116, 326, 782, 776

bring to them, and which he threw into the fire as a sacrifice. He had to beg this food from the people for whom he had worked, and he was unwilling that they should think that he was greedy, and was using the spirits as an excuse for begging. Therefore he decided to work only at home."

15: Popov -- 260-261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut-1-3
116, 326, 539, 756, 776

"Among the Yakut, blacksmiths receive their skill from the evil deity K'daai Maqsin, chief blacksmith in the whole underworld. He lives in an iron house, and owns black cattle with white heads, and spotted red horses. For many versts before the approach to his house the ground is covered with remains of fired slag iron. The forehead of this deity is covered with dirt nine fingers thick, his cheeks with rust three fingers thick, the face is like a chunk of earth torn from the mountain; his eyes are always closed and when he wishes to see, eight men from above and eight men from below drag the iron lids apart with iron hooks. (1) K'daai Maqsin is a great master. If a valiant hero, a vassal

1. Iron eyelids are a common attribute of Yakut heroic personages. Thus Arsan-Duolan-Old Man is similarly described: One man with the iron hook ran up over his breast, hooked his lower eyelid and dragged it down. Another man with a hook ran over his back and propping himself against the stony back of Old Man's head, cought his upper eyelids with the hooks and dragged them up . (Yastremsky, p. 19). (Tr.)

of the evil spirits, loses his arm or leg, he forges him a new one and fixes it in the prpper place. He can make rifles which do not miss, and a garb which will protect against bullets. He can add strength to a weaker hero. He makes a very hard iron which he tempers in a special liquid made of the blood of a lion, the tears of a species of seal,

blood from the lips of a young man and the blood of the cheeks of a young girl. His bellows are made of thirty cowhides. He has as assistants hammer-men, bellows-men and file-men.

K'daai Maqsin also caused shamans to be introduced into this world. The Yakut tell the following tale: Long, long ago evil spirits lived on earth with the people, but often abused them by stealing their women. The husbands in pursuit penetrated into the lower world and reached the place where they could not continue their way without horses. They [261] asked K'daai Maqsin for help, and he forged horses for them on condition that they send to him upon their return nine jet black mares with white heads as payment for his work.' The men asked him: 'With whom shall we send the horses to you?' 'With the famous shaman!' replied the Blacksmith of the Underworld. From this time on shamans were on the earth.

Moreover, sometimes K'daai Maqsin personally participates in the initiation of the famous shamans of the lower world: he tempers their souls as he tempers iron.

K'daai Maqsin, after teaching the people the blacksmith's art, did not tell them how to weld the iron. The first blacksmith asked a very esteemed old man for advice in this matter, who said to him: 'When the devil comes to you, heat a large piece of iron in the fire, cover it with snow and strike it with a heavy sledge hammer. The great noise will scare the devil and perhaps, being frightened he will disclose to you the secret.' The blacksmith listened to the advice and when the devil came to him he acted accordingly.

15: Popov -- 260 - 261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut - 3
116, 326 539, 756, 776

At the loud retort the devil, losing his wits from fright, yelled: 'Use sand.' From this time on blacksmiths have known how to weld iron by the use of sand. (1)

1. Pripusov, N. P., Shamanism of the Yakuts of the Yakutsk region. Izvestia of East Siberian section of R. G. S. Vol. XV, pp. 3-4.

15: Popov -- 261 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 756, 776

"Among the Buriat also the blacksmith art is of supernatural origin. The people learned the art from the southwestern i. e. good, and northeastern, i. e. evil, spirits. Those who learned from the first are called 'white' and those who learned from the second 'black' blacksmiths. Today among the Yakut there is no division between 'white' and 'black' blacksmiths, and they all obtain their power from K'daai Maqsin. [RCH: see category 116, pp. 260-261] Only shamans are divided into black and white in this tribe. Gorohov (2) in the notes to the tale 'Iurun Iolan' says that the white shamans do not have

2. Izvestia of the Siberian Section of Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XV. Nos. 5-6., p. 56.

shamanistic dress, not even the tambourine. The author also was told that the ancient white shamans wore few iron pendants, and sometimes none. Consequently these shamans did not need to apply to the blacksmiths."

16: Great Britain Admiralty--168 [4] G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 771, 776, 825, 177.77 Russia
636.77

"The Yakuts have been nominally Christian since the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Tsar declared that they had merited this privilege, of which many of them remained absolutely unconscious. They go to church, but have a very hazy idea of their nominal religion. Their native chief god is Tangra. They have also many malevolent spirits, who are distinguished by the names of colours; cattle and horses are sacred to the spirit whose colour they bear."

18: Priklonski--81 [2] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 614, 753, 756, 776

It is, above all, up to the shaman, after being called to a patient to find out the name of the spirit in question, because every spirit causes only those diseases which are peculiar to his sib. He must, moreover, find out, what kind of sacrifice has to be offered in order to appease the spirit and make him abstain from his hostility towards the patient. For this purpose the exorcist performs a mystic ceremony before the couch of the patient. After having dressed in his official dress (kumà) he takes his drum (djugjur), which is his leader through the nether world and the seven heavens, and invokes the spirits of his dead ancestors and relatives, the spirits of mighty shamans. Through their mediation he goes down to the subterraneous world of the spirits, then climbs on strongly-turned ropes from one heaven to the other (which he reports in his mystic and ecstatic songs) asking whoever he is meeting: "who is the spirit that keeps my protégé in prison?" After a long migration he receives information on the permanent domicile of the spirit; finally, further devices are applied to get into negotiations with the found demon under the supervision of the protectors of the shaman.

18: Priklonski--81-82 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 756, 776, 782

Once the shaman has managed to get in touch with the spirit he persuades himself that he is standing in the face of him, indulges in high praises of his power, strength, and importance, makes honorable remarks on his own profession which culminates in helping suffering mankind and paying reverence and unperturbable devotion to the spirits and invokes the demon for the mercy of caring for his, the shaman's, protégé, of having pity with his torment and the disconsolate state of his family, and of freeing his soul which he, the demon, is holding in his almightly hands. The negotiations of the shaman with the spirit are not always successful; because much depends on the disposition of the spirit. The mediation is considered successful when the demon definitely states which kind of sacrifices he is ready to accept. Quite often it happens that the shaman persuades the demon to be content, in view of poverty prevailing the family, [82] with a minor offering and to accept the skin of a polar hare or fox instead of a foal or bull. The shaman then notifies the persons present of the issue of the negotiations, whereupon they give him the sacrifice to be done.

18: Priklonski--82 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 753, 756, 761, 774, 776

The shaman's endeavor is not always successful. He may not succeed in finding out the identity of the spirit who causes the illness, or once that he has managed to, he may not be able to locate him at a given moment, or, at last, the negotiations may have failed to bring about persuasion of the frightful, cruel demon, to appease him, to change his ire into indulgence. Unconditionally helpless is the shaman with pestilence and epidemics (dżan). The demon will not cease grasping the soul (kut) of the patient as a prey, takes possession of it, severs it from the body, and flees away with it. The patient's body remains unmoved and stops breathing, and unless the dreadful demon is propitiated before long, the soul will fail to come back to its former abode, the bodily frame will cool down and be subject to decomposition.

18: Priklonski--85 [2] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut-1-2
116, 372, 532, 764, 769, 776

On the way home from the burial bunches of wood were kindled on the way; and the defunct's relatives jump across the flames in order to make themselves clean and free from the evil spirit who might have penetrated their clothes during the period of inevitable intercourse with their sick companion. Fire or the demon of fire, An-darchan-toen, or Al-ɔt-iccitja is the protector of the homes and of all persons living under one roof. Fire makes everything clean, it affords warmth, it helps prepare food. The god of fire dwells over the stove, and has the appearance of an old dwarf with a white beard. When preparing a meal it is advisable to throw the first bit of it into the stove. The evil spirit is afraid of the fire; therefore, when the dead man's relatives jump across the fire they leave the evil spirit behind. When they are back, they commemorate the defunct, or rather they treat each other in his honor with meat, salomata, tea, and liquor. In former times they also used to carve a commemorative wooden figure, two or three sixteenths of a yard high, and to decorate them with hides and glass pearls. While this representation was to recall the dead man, it is also supposed to be the spirit who protects the soul of the defunct and the latter himself in the other world. This puppet, however, was not kept in the yurta, but in the choton (Yakut word for cattle pen) or even in a hollow tree, where it was supplied with some bits of good food, and its mouth was smeared with cow's butter or trainoil, to feed him and to secure his protective spirit's aid. But time which destroys everything removed also this puppet to substitute a new one for another

defunct; and the old one had to be content with the second rank. Life asserted itself. Every day would bring new impressions, sad and agreeable, older events were forgotten, and memories of that kind have disappeared without a trace in the dark of the past, along with the memory of men.

27: Coxwell--28 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 538, 776

"It is of importance that travellers who have lived with Sub-Arctic races describe them as being even now primitive savages of a kind depicted in their folk-tales. We learn that the Koryaks and Chukchis sacrifice dogs wholesale to propitiate evil spirits; that both Chukchis and Koryaks kill the old people; and that both races believe completely in the Shaman's ability to communicate with the dead. The tales of these races do not reproduce past so much as they adumbrate present beliefs. But as we proceed gradually to the tales of less ignorant and barbaric races, we find portrayed a less thorough belief in the existence of supernatural beings. Thus the necessity of throwing a portion of food to the Spirit of Fire, among the Yakuts, or to the house-spirit, among the Letts, is depicted as far from universal and as less compelling than is the necessity of sacrificing to the evil powers among the above mentioned Sub-Arctic races."

27: Coxwell--34-35 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 538, 776, 782

"A belief in the efficacy of sacrifices to spirits is clearly revealed by the tales of the Gilyaks, Koryaks, Chukchis, Yakuts and Letts. That trees have been supposed to speak and act is implied in Tungusian, Lappish, Chukchi, and even Russian stories. The belief that spirits in monstrous forms attack men is indicated by simple and earnest narratives of the lowest Siberian races and even of the Yakuts. Though a story is not [35] necessarily a proof of belief, it is probably true that the wide existence of a story points to a degree of acceptance, not far removed from a belief, in races whose powers of discrimination between the gradations of make believe are small. Do not our children crave to be told that a tale is true?"

27: Coxwell--40 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 538, 776

"But the space surrounding mankind may be peopled by creatures more unpleasant than most beasts of the field. Evil spirits in Siberian primitive literature may have the shape of men, as in the first Lamut (Tungusian) tale, or possess merely a 'monstrous shape,' or a human face and a dog's body, or five heads, as in different Koryak myths. A one-eyed, one-armed, one-legged devil's daughter, in the Yakut story, 'The Little Old Woman with Five Cows,' possesses an iron tongue fifty feet long."

27: Coxwell--42 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 776

"Among the Yakuts, there are formidable gods of the underworld, whose secrets are known only to the shamans. 'Omnipotent Lord' is the name of the chief of the dark spirits. An 'owner' controls every river, lake and stone, and misfortunes in travelling are attributed to local 'owners,' to whom sacrifice must be made. The great evil spirit, 'Underground-Old Man,' lives in the far north. The chief benevolent god of the Yakuts is the white lord and creator of the earth and of man, and he was probably, first of all, the Yakut god of the Sun."

27: Coxwell--262 [3] B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 776, 782, 823

"They speak of a supreme God, but do not worship him. The earth was made by such a Being, and at first it was small and level; then an evil spirit scratched up the surface, so that there appeared hills and valleys. The Yakuts have their good and evil spirits, and the shamans deliver earnest addresses to air and water gods. He throws melted butter into the air to appease demons and express gratitude to the gods."

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

262 I have already mentioned that in former times horse-flesh
273 and kumiss formed the staple food of the Yakut. The hay-
231 makers often carried kumiss with them in skin bottles to the fields as their only food, and it was sufficient for them. "Kumiss slakes the thirst, exhilarates, restores strength, and does not overcharge the stomach," say the Yakut. The hay-makers worked easily and quickly. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the horse became the object of a particular cult, as an animal on which man chiefly depended for his existence.

773 Kumiss and fat mare's flesh are regarded in the myths as
825 food worthy of the heroes of divine origin. The horse, tradi-
273 tion says, was let down from heaven and given to man by the
776 chief of the benevolent deities, Lord Bright-Creator (Ürüñ Aγγ Toyon).[1] According to another tradition recorded by me on the Kolyma River, Lord Bright-Creator sent down to earth another deity, Bar-Allei-Lord (Bar Allei Toyon), to instruct men how to make kumiss. The deity brought with him to the earth the ferment for making kumiss (*xoyū*). One of the ancestors of the Yakut tribe, Dyghyn, says another legend recorded by me, had such large droves of mares, that the kumiss made of their milk filled whole lakes, and everybody came to their borders and drank.

773 In the myths we find the winged steed an important per-
776 sonage, — the counsellor, assistant, and companion of the hero
538 in battles and travels. Ayγγγt, the goddess of fecundity, is supposed to be near the mare during the first three days of foaling. The same deity, or another deity of the same name, — this is not quite clear, — also assists the lying-in woman. In love-songs we often find, by way of praise, the comparison of the hero to a colt, and of the heroine to a mare.

825 It is regarded as a sin to beat a horse. The bones of a horse must not lie on the ground. In olden times the bones of horses were placed on a platform. If a Yakut finds in his path

[1] For the division of Yakut supernatural beings into "creators" (*aγγ*) and "evil spirits" (*abaγγ*), see JOCHELSON, The Koryak (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Leiden, 1905, Vol. VI, p. 119).

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

296 273 the goblets, and pass them on to the less important and the younger people. Behind every honored or aged member of the clan, sit or stand his domestics, less esteemed relatives, young men, and laborers. He looks after the welfare of each of these. When the goblet is emptied, it is given back to the steward or the host to be filled.

[262] At the same time, not far from the altar, other stewards are preparing tables, or simply boards on the ground, on which are placed piles of horse and cow flesh, and dishes of melted butter. Every chief of a family or clan receives a large portion of meat and butter, which he divides among his people.

The whole day passes with songs, round dances, games, races and other contests, and shamanistic performances. The poetical choral songs of the young men and girls, in praise of the spring and love, are most interesting.[1] TROSTCHANSKY[2] relates, also, that during the kumiss festival the change of winter to spring is personated in a contest between two men. One of them, dressed in white, represents spring, and is called "son of 'creator'" (*ayy uola*). The other, clad in black, represents winter, and is called "son of evil spirit" (*abasy uola*).

The autumnal festival is celebrated in honor of the destructive forces, and is therefore called *abasy-ysyax*. This festival is dedicated to the evil spirits (*abasylar*), the inhabitants of the west and the representatives of darkness and night, in order that they may not interfere with them in winter, the time of the year when starvation, disease, and death are imminent. This festival, also, takes place in the open air, but at night.

[776] The first night of the festival is in honor of Big-Lord (*Ulu-Toyon*) and the evil spirits of the upper world subordinate to him. The second night is in honor of *Axsan Duolai* and his subordinates, the evil spirits of the lower world. To [782] all of these evil spirits, in addition to the libations of kumiss made to the benevolent deities, blood sacrifices of cattle and horses are also made. This ceremony, according to Trost-

[1] Examples of such songs may be found in MIDDENDORFF, Sibirische Reise (St. Petersburg, 1875), Part 2, p. 1578; SIEROSHEVSKI, The Yakut (St. Petersburg, 1896), Vol. 1, pp. 587 et seq.

[2] The Black Faith of the Yakut (Kazan, 1901), p. 106.

40: Burr--151 N-2 (no date) 1931 Yakut

116. 771. 776. 782

"Officially they are all Orthodox Christians, but their primitive Shamanism is but thinly covered, and in the remoter districts of the north the hunters and trappers are probably all still pagan at heart. Their primitive belief is not in God but in Abáhy, that is, evil spirits. The three chief ones were Ühe Abáhy, the Spirit of the Air; Allará Abáhy, the Spirit of the Underworld; and, appropriately enough, Hotugu Abáhy, the Spirit of the North. Their priests, called oyun, made sacrifices of animals to appease these evil spirits to the beating of the düngur, a kind of kettle-drum with little bells attached."

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

attributed. The believing Yakuts considered that the cure of disease by a shaman actually consisted in elucidating which abaasy had caused the disease, battling against them or offering them a sacrifice, and expelling them from the patient. According to shamanistic belief, the abaasy lived in tribes or clans partly in the "upper" and partly in the "lower" world, as well as in the "middle" world, the earth.

The spirits living in the "upper" world were offered sacrifices of horses, and those in the "lower" world of cattle. Close to the abaasy were the ɣo/, evil spirits, for the most part minor ones, who were the souls of people who had died prematurely or violently, and also the souls of deceased shamans, sorcerers and so on. The ability to cause people harm was attributed to these spirits, but they also lived in the "middle" world (on the earth and around it). The beliefs about them are very close to the Russian superstitions regarding "unclean" or possessed dead persons. Small spirits called kelens were considered to assist the shaman to do various tricks while he was performing.

Among the important deities in the shamanistic pantheon first place is taken by the powerful and awe-inspiring Uluu-Toyon, who was head of the "upper" world spirits and patron of shamans: "he created the shaman and taught him to fight against all evils; he gave people fire." Living in the upper world (on the western side of the third heaven), Uluu-Toyon was also able to come down to earth in the form of larger animals such as the bear, elk, ox or black stallion. Below Uluu-Toyon were other more or less powerful deities, each of which had its own name and epithet, its residence and its special interest. Examples of these are Ala Buuray Toyon (Arsan Duolay or Allara-Ogon'or, "the old man from underground"), head of the underground abaasy, creator of everything harmful and unpleasant, Aan Arbatyy Toyon (or Arkhakh Toyon), who caused consumption and so on.

The presence of the important deities in the shamanistic pantheon of the Yakuts distinguishes their shamanism from the Tungus type (the Tungus did not believe in the important gods to a very large extent) and brings it close to the shamanism of the Altay-Sayan peoples. Generally speaking, it is a feature of a later stage of the development of shamanism.

The main duties of the shamans were to "cure" sick people and animals and to "avert" all catastrophies. Their devices could be reduced to casting spells (accompanied by singing, dancing, banging of a tambourine, and so on), usually at night, during which the shaman worked himself into a frenzy and, according to Yakut superstition, his soul flew up to join the spirits, or else the spirits entered his body; his magic enabled him to overcome and chase out the wicked spirits, to learn about the sacrifices required by the spirits, to make them, and so on. On the side, during the ritual the shaman became a diviner, answering various questions put to him by the onlookers, and also showing various magic tricks which were supposed to increase his authority and make people more frightened of him.

In return for his offices the shaman received a fee, particularly if his spells were successful, which usually varied between 1 ruble and 25 rubles or more. Furthermore, the shaman was always given food and drink and allowed to eat the sacrificial meat, part of which he sometimes took home. Although the shamans usually had their own households, which were at times of quite a size, the fee for their magic constituted a considerable item of their income. The shaman's demand for a sacrifice was a great burden to the population.

326 The same kind of superstitious awe with which the shamans were
756 regarded was also applied to the smiths, particularly hereditary smiths who were believed to have mysterious powers. The smith was considered to some extent related to the shaman. "The smith and the shaman are out of one nest." Smiths could treat illnesses, give advice and even make prophecies. The smith forged iron pendants for the shaman's costume, and this fact alone made him awesome. The smith had special power over the spirits for, according to Yakut superstition, spirits were afraid of the sound of iron and the noise of the smith's bellows.

776 Apart from shamanism, the Yakuts had another cult, connected with
782 their livelihood. The chief deity in this cult was Bay-Bayanay, the spirit of the forest and patron of hunting and fishing. According to some beliefs, Bayanay had 11 brothers. They brought luck in hunting and fishing, so that the hunter exorted them to help him before he went out hunting, and after a successful hunt made them offerings of some of the catch by throwing pieces of fat into the fire or smearing the images of Bayanay with blood.

776 The belief in ichchi or "masters" of different objects was evidently connected with hunting and fishing. The Yakuts believed that all animals, trees, and different phenomena of nature possessed ichchi, just as certain domestic articles, such as knives and axes. The ichchi themselves were neither good nor evil. In order to placate the "masters" of the mountains, cliffs, rivers, forests and so on, at various places—river crossings, mountain passes and so on—the Yakuts left small offerings of pieces of meat, butter and other food, and also scraps of cloth. The worship of
776 certain animals came close to this cult as well. The bear was an object
825 of great reverence and as a result people avoided calling it by name, were afraid of killing it, and considered it to be a transformed sorcerer. The eagle was also worshipped and called toyon kyyl ("mister beast"), and so were the raven, hawk and certain other birds and animals.

776 All these beliefs go back to the ancient means of livelihood of the Yakuts, and pastoralism also gave rise to its own set of beliefs and rituals. These comprised the cult of the deities of fertility, which was not preserved for very long and is therefore less known. Among these beliefs was clearly the belief in ayyy, benevolent deities who bestowed various benefits. It was thought the ayyy lived in the east.

First place among the benevolent spirits was taken by Urun-Ayyy-Toyon ("white lord and creator"), who lived in the eighth heaven, was kind and did not interfere in human affairs, hence there was apparently no cult of him. The image of this spirit was very much mixed up with features of the Christian God. According to a certain belief, still higher than Ayyy-Toyon was Aar-Toyon, who inhabited the ninth heaven. Below them followed a large number of other benevolent deities, who were supposed to bestow various blessings. The most important figure among them was the female deity *Aïyyhyt* (Ayyysyt), who bestowed fertility, patronized
[844] women in labor and gave mothers their children. Sacrifices were made to Ayyysyt during childbirth, and since it was considered that after the birth this goddess remained three days in the house, a special female ritual (to which men were not allowed to come) was performed at the end of three days in order to celebrate her departure.

796 The chief ceremony in honor of the benevolent deities, the patrons of fertility, was the kumys festival, *ыһыах*, in the old days. This festival was organized in the spring or halfway through the summer, when there was plenty of milk; it was held in the open air, in the meadows, and many people gathered together for it. The peak moment of the festival

was a ceremonial libation of kumys in honor of the deities, prayers to them, the ceremonial drinking of the kumys from very large wooden goblets (choroon). After this there was feasting, games of various kinds, wrestling and so on. The attendants of the benevolent deities, the so-called ayyy-oyuuna ("white shamans"), were the masters of ceremonies at the festivities, although they died out among the Yakuts a long time ago, on account of the decline of this cult. By the end of the 19th century, there remained only legends of the white shamans.

In the cult of both the benevolent and malevolent deities, a part was played at one stage by the military aristocracy—the toyons; they were usually the organizers. In their legendary genealogies the toyons often derived their names from the great and powerful deities.

The ancient ysyakh retained elements of the clan cult, and according to legend they had been organized according to clan in former times. The Yakuts retained other survivals of the clan cult, but these were not very clearly marked. For example, they retained elements of totemism, pointed out in the literature of the 18th century (Stralenberg). Each clan had at one time its own patron in the form of an animal; the clan totems were, for example, ravens, swans, falcons, eagles, squirrels, and so on. The members of a particular clan not only refrained from slaughtering their patrons and eating them as food, but also avoided mentioning them by name.

Associated with the clan cult was the worship of fire, which is still retained by the Yakuts. Fire, according to Yakut superstition, is the purest element and it was forbidden to defile or dishonor it. Before each meal was started, pieces of food were thrown into the fire; it was splashed with milk, kumys and so on. All this was considered a sacrifice to the master of the fire (Uot-ichchite). There was often not only a single master, but as many as seven brothers. No images were made of them. The cult of ancestors among the Yakuts was poorly developed. Among the deceased it was only the shamans and certain outstanding people whose memory was honored, and whose spirits, for some reason, were feared.

Folklore

The folklore of the Yakuts was somewhat one-sided, but in certain regions it reached a high artistic level. Apart from the wealth of varied and deeply poetic oral folklore, singing was far less developed and instrumental music hardly existed at all; dancing was fairly poorly developed and monotonous. In the realm of graphic art, the Yakuts only developed the applied forms—finishing and ornamentation of articles in everyday use.

A whole series of different genres and forms stand out among the oral creation of the Yakuts. One of the most interesting is the epic poem—the olonkho.

This is a very ancient type of folk poetry and originated in the clan-tribal age. The language of the olonkho is archaic, and contains a large number of obsolete, almost incomprehensible words and expressions, though it is at the same time rich, colorful and imaginative; the vocabulary of the epic contains almost twice as many words as the everyday language. Consequently, these works are difficult to translate into other languages. The olonkho describes the exploits of mythical warriors (bootur) and their struggles against the evil spirits, the abaasy. There are whole cycles of these poems built round the images

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

421 was considered collective property, particularly in summer when several
224 households nomadized together. Having killed a wild reindeer, the hunter
226 was expected to give up the skin and meat to the families of his group, but keep the head and neck for himself. During the collective trapping of geese or spearing of wild reindeer a representative was chosen to make the division, and everything caught was divided up by families, according to the number of members.

224 The sites to be used by the nomadic groups for their summer hunting and fishing were decided in the spring, before the mosquitoes appeared. The heads of the groups would agree on the places where their own kin would hunt. Under this system each group hunted in new areas each year. Ownership of the polar-fox traps took a different form. The traps were private property. When setting new traps "behind" (i.e., to the south of) the old ones, no permission was required, but if they were set "in front of" the old ones (to the north), whence the polar fox came, it was essential to have the permission of the owner of the old traps, since when the foxes came down, they would be caught chiefly in the new ones. It was not forbidden to hunt other animals at the sites of the traps.

601 The system of kinship among the Dolgans was the classificatory type,
882 and the terms used for kinship were Yakut. The family was of the patri-
771 archal type, but the young people enjoyed great freedom until they married.

● 776 Although the Dolgans were considered Christians and observed the external, ritualistic aspects of Russian Orthodoxy, they also retained their old animistic beliefs. Deities and spirits were divided into three categories (the same as for the Yakuts): ichchi, or incorporeal, invisible beings, who brought to life anything which they entered; ayyy or spirits well-disposed towards humans; abaasy or spirits hostile towards humans and causing various sicknesses and misfortunes; these lived in the earth and in the underworld. A person was believed to get sick and die because the abaasy had stolen his soul and carried it away to the underworld, and then, in-
756 vading the person, proceeded to eat him. The guardians of the people
[171] against the wicked spirits and mediators between humans and spirits were the oyun or shamans. The shaman garb and tambourine among the Dolgans were the same as among the Evenks.

776 In their religion the Dolgans worshipped the so-called saytaans. The saytaans could take a great variety of forms, for example, a stone of unusual shape or an ugly wild-deer antler. Any object could be a saytaan if a shaman commanded a spirit, ichchi, to enter it. The saytaans were greatly revered both as family and hunting patrons.

764 The Dolgans buried their dead in the ground. The western (Noril'sk)
[531] Dolgans did not usually erect a log structure over the grave, but only left a mound of earth onto which they felled a tree. The eastern Dolgans built log structures over the grave, which they often embellished with intricate carving. A reindeer was slaughtered near the grave and the clothing in which the deceased had died was either left on the ground or hung on the tree.

Folklore

538 The indigenous folklore of the Dolgans was represented by riddles, tales, historical legends, epic poems and stories of everyday life—the latter constituting the predominant type. The stories tell of the nomadic life of the Dolgans in all its real, everyday context. They are brief, but extremely varied in content. Very popular were stories of animals—their origin, their metamorphosis into people and back again. A particular group was composed

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RY2

A 114

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

A Y 372 171 776

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A Y 372 171 776 782

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut BV2

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ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire" may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything else.

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As regards firelight, there are two interesting taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass beyond the strip of light which falls from the household fire, to cross over to the women's side of the hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid it, pass through the strip of light in front of the hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.

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[546 cont.]
Undoubtedly, the man's death was caused by the soul of the anchor, which had been offended by the damage to its abode, and it took revenge. Its great power was thus demonstrated; whereupon the anchor was worshiped and became a fetish. One more example: Wuttke mentions that the Jakoeten [Yakut] saw a camel for the first time just as there was an outbreak of smallpox among them. Since then the camel has been regarded as a hostile god. In this instance, too, we find the two conditions for the emergence of a fetish. On the one hand, the camel, an animal that had never been seen before, and, on the other hand, the smallpox. The two things were linked in a causal connection. The spirit that was embodied in the camel, the soul of the camel, was a powerful spirit; the camel thus became a fetish.

Therefore, there are four factors that lead to fetishistic worship: 1. the presence of a peculiar, rare, and therefore in many cases valuable object; 2. [547] the theosophic idea of that object as living, feeling, and willing; 3. the idea of a causal connection between that object and a particular phenomenon; and 4. following directly from the first three points, the recognition of the object as something powerful and for this reason to be feared and worshiped. Close attention shows that the savage actually does not worship the object itself, but its soul, which he has come to know as powerful and to be feared. He does this unconsciously, however. He does not separate the soul from the object, but regards both as an entity and worships the one as well as the other (1). We must thus continue to re-

1. Nieman, "de Godsdienst der Bataks [The Religion of the Batak], Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., 1870, I, p. 291. Tiele, Een probleem v. d. godsdienstwetenschap [A Problem of Theology], p. 210 and passim.

gard fetishism as the worship of perceptible objects as animated beings.